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VOL. XVIII, No. 14

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1925

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WHOLE No. 491

PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY ON DIVERS THEMES

PROFESSORS CROSBY, BATTLE, AND MOORE ON KINDRED TOPICS

Of the collection of his "occasional" writings which he put forth in 1922, under the title *Tradition and Progress* (Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. 221), Professor Gilbert Murray writes as follows in his Preface (8):

For good and evil, the present writer is a "grammaticus" and in particular a Greek student. His special form of experience and the point of view to which it leads are given in the first paper, *Religio Grammatici*. Starting from some study of "letters" as the record made by the human soul of those moments of life which it has valued most and most longs to preserve, he makes his attempt to understand its present adventures and prospects. The next three essays deal more or less directly with Greek subjects, or rather with the light thrown by particular phases of Greek experience upon modern problems of society and conduct and literature. Then the connexion with Greece becomes slighter, and by the end of the book we are dealing directly with modern questions.

The contents of the book are as follows:

I. *Religio Grammatici*: The Religion of a "Man of Letters" <11-30>; II. Aristophanes and the War Party <31-55>; III. The Bacchae of Euripides <56-87>; IV. The Stoic Philosophy <88-106>; V. Poesis and Mimesis <107-124>; VI. Literature as Revelation <125-141>; VII. The Soul as It Is and How To Deal With It <142-159>; VIII. National Ideals: Conscious and Unconscious <160-182>; IX. *Orbis Terrestris* <183-201>; X. Satanism and the World Order <202-221>.

The address entitled *Religio Grammatici*, published by the Houghton Mifflin Company in 1918, was reviewed by Professor W. S. Messer in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 12.182-183. I quote a sentence or two from this review:

... Early man, dissatisfied with his winged words that would not linger, and trying to escape from his mortality, invented *grammata*. . . . To recover from *grammata* all that can be saved of body and soul, to recreate the living words, the life, the thought or the feeling, enshrined in *grammata* is the function of *grammatike* and the real business of the *grammaticus*.

In other words, the business of the *grammaticus* is to help others to relive the best that is in the past. In dealing with the past we have mainly to do with the continuous literary tradition of Greece and Rome, for our Western civilization is a unity of descent and brotherhood from the civilization of the ancient classical world.

In Aristophanes and the War Party¹, Professor Murray considers the impression made on Athenian society by that long and tremendous conflict between Athens and Sparta which is called the Peloponnesian

War. In so doing, he uses the light thrown by contemporary experience in the World War (the lecture was delivered in 1918. Professor Murray was thinking, naturally, of conditions in England). At the outset he says (32-33):

... That war was in many respects curiously similar to the present war. It was, as far as the Hellenic peoples were concerned, a world-war. No part of the Greek race was unaffected. It was the greatest war there had ever been. Arising suddenly among civilized nations, accustomed to comparatively decent and half-hearted wars, it startled the world by its uncompromising ferocity. Again, it was a struggle between Sea-power and Land-power; though Athens, like ourselves, was far from despicable on land, and Sparta, like Germany, had a formidable fleet, and adopted the same terrorist policy of sinking all craft whatsoever, enemy or neutral, which they found at sea (*Thucydides* ii. 67). It was a struggle between the principles of democracy and military monarchy; and in consequence throughout the Hellenic world there was a violent dissidence of sympathy, the military and aristocratic parties everywhere being pro-Spartan, and the democratic parties pro-Athenian. From the point of view of military geography, again, the democratic sea-empire of Athens suffered much from its lack of cohesion and its dependence on sea-borne resources, while the military land empire of the Peloponnesians gained from its compact and central position. . . .

Professor Murray notes first some of the obvious results arising from so long and so serious a war, such as overcrowding at Athens, the influx of refugees from the districts close to the invasions, the scarcity of food, of oil for lighting, and of charcoal for burning, the absence of men of military age from Athens ("The place was full of women and *Gerontes*—technically, men over sixty. And the Young men were being killed out" [36]), and the scarcity of servants.

He then turns (38) from the material effects of the war to the effects upon public opinion. He relies upon Thucydides and Aristophanes. Aristophanes represents the political opposition (38), and treats

public affairs with unusual freedom of speech and also, amid the wildest exaggerations, with a singularly acute perception of his opponent's point of view. The Greeks were not politicians and dramatists for nothing.

Since the war was long, hard, and evenly balanced, there arose a demand for "energy, energy at any price, and then more energy". Since, even with energy, things continued to go wrong, the mob became hysterical, and sure that traitors were within its ranks. Hence Athens swarmed with informers and false accusers. In this state of things, it became difficult, if not dangerous, to work for peace (39). "Nicias no doubt wished for a peace on reasonable terms, to be followed by an alliance with Sparta and a loyal co-operation between the two chief states of Greece".

The attitude of the opposition, the moderates, or

¹This lecture has been published separately, under the title *Our Great War and the Great War of the Ancient Greeks*, by Thomas Seltzer (New York, 1920. Pp. 85).—Some hint of Professor Murray's views of *poesis* may be got from *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15.39-40.

"pacifists", toward the government of Cleon is then considered (40-49). I quote from page 46:

Cleon's policy was to win, to win completely, at any cost and by any means. And, as in the French Revolution, such a policy became more and more repulsive to decent men. Nicias, the leader of Cleon's opponents, wanted a Peace of Reconciliation, but he seldom faced the Assembly. He was a good soldier, a good organizer, a skilful engineer; he devoted himself to his military work and increasingly stood out from politics. Our witnesses are unanimous in saying that from the time of Pericles onward there was a rapid and progressive deterioration in the class of men who acquired ascendancy in Athens. In part no doubt this alleged deterioration merely represented a change in social class; the traders or business men, the 'mongers' as Aristophanes derisively calls them, came to the front in place of the landed classes and the families of ancient culture. But I hardly see how we can doubt that there really was a moral and spiritual degradation as well, from Pericles and Cimon to Hyperbolus and his successors.

To illustrate this paragraph, Professor Murray gives a rough translation, as he calls it, of Aristophanes, *Knights* 125-225, which he calls the *locus classicus* on this subject (47-49). It is the passage in which the Sausage-man or Offal-monger is introduced as the only possible rival for Cleon, the Tanner or Leather-monger. He comments then on the passage, as follows (49):

You feel the tone. The bitter contempt, in part the contempt of the beaten aristocrat for the conquering plebeian, of the partisan for his opponent, of the educated man for the uneducated, but in part, I think, genuinely the contempt of the man of honest traditions in manners and morals for the self-seeker with no traditions at all. It recurs again and again, in all mentions of Cleon and his successor Hyperbolus, or their flatterers and hangers-on; priests and prophets, shirkers of military service, rich profiteers with a pull on the government, and above all of course the informers, or false-accusers.

I know of at least two treatments of the Peloponnesian War written by American classical scholars during the World War, with inevitable comparison with that war. One, entitled *Aristophanes and the Great War*, by Professor H. Lamar Crosby, of the University of Pennsylvania, is to be found in *University Lectures Delivered by Members of the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania*, 6.349-367 (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.192). The other, by Professor W. J. Battle, of the University of Texas, was entitled *Pan-Germanism in the Age of Pericles*. It appeared in *The Texas Review* (published by the University of Texas), 3.275-296, 4.38-51 (July, October, 1918). Professor Battle relies mainly on the pages of *Thucydides*; indeed, his article consists, for the most part, of extracts from *Thucydides*, in translation.

Professor Crosby's sympathies were, apparently, pro-Gilbert-Murray, Pro-League-of-Nations. Professor Battle was Anti-German and Anti-Athenian. "The attitude of Athens towards her neighbors", he says (277), "is indeed much like that of Germany towards hers today". "On the other side, the chief state, Sparta, solid, slow-moving, tenacious, with a long history of achievement and honor, is like England even

if her power be land instead of naval". Later (279) Professor Battle writes thus:

The position of Athens as a great naval power dependent for her existence on her fleet is essentially that of England today, but the government of England up to the Reform Bill much more nearly resembles that of Sparta than that of Athens, and the similarity of her history and policy to those of Sparta is curiously close at many points.

Yet, in his concluding sentence (4.51), he writes: "Greece only exchanged Athenian supremacy for Spartan and Spartan for Theban and finally was so weakened in man power and spiritual force that she lost her freedom altogether to Macedon and Rome".

Both Professor Crosby and Professor Battle emphasize, inevitably, the part that sea-fighting and sea-power played in the Peloponnesian War.

I may note here that the rôle played by sea-power and sea-fighting in the Greek Wars of 458-404 B. C. is discussed at length by Mr. Arthur MacCartney Shepard, in a book entitled *Sea Power in Ancient History: The Story of the Navies of Classic Greece and Rome* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1924. Pp. xxx + 286). The discussion covers pages 79-119, and is conducted under the following captions:

Section III. The Peloponnesian Wars, 458 B. C. to 415 B. C. <79-93>; Section IV. The Sicilian Expedition of Athens, 415 B. C. to 413 B. C. <93-108>; Section V. Decline and Fall of the Athenian Sea Empire, 413 B. C. to 404 B. C. <108-119>.

In a volume entitled *International Law and Some Current Illusions and Other Essays* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924), Mr. John Bassett Moore, formerly Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at Columbia University, for years connected with the State Department at Washington, and now a member of the World Court of The League of Nations, makes some comments on the relative scope of the World War, which are in various ways of interest to students of the Classics. I have in mind particularly pages 9-13, in which Mr. Moore makes a comparison of the extent and the effect of the drafts made by previous wars on national man-power and resources (compare Professor Murray's remarks on the extent of the Peloponnesian War). There is space to quote only the following passage (9-10):

... we find that in France about 7,500,000 men were mobilized. Those killed in action or dead of wounds numbered 1,028,000, the missing 299,000—a total of 1,327,000. Of wounded, amounting to about 3,000,000, three-fourths recovered. The total loss in man-power, killed, dead from wounds, missing, and unfit for work is estimated at 2,260,000, between twenty-six and thirty per cent of the men mobilized, or nearly six per cent of the population. In Germany 11,000,000 men were mobilized. Those killed in action or dead of wounds amounted to 1,611,104, the missing to 103,000—a total of 1,714,104. The wounded numbered 4,064,000, and if the French proportion of recoveries be taken, the total loss in man-power would be twenty-five per cent of the men mobilized, or between four and five per cent of the population. No account is here taken of the probable higher ratio of deaths among the non-com-

²Attention may be called here to a University of Chicago dissertation, by Dr. Frederick William Clark, *The Influence of Sea-Power on the History of the Roman Republic* (Menasha, The George Banta Publishing Company, 1915. Pp. xi + 112).

batant population of Germany, due to shortage and impoverishment of food during or since the war, resulting from the Allied war measures.

Turning to ancient wars, it is estimated that, in the first Persian war, a fourth of the male citizen-population of Athens capable of bearing arms, and more than a half of that of Sparta, were actually engaged in hostilities; that, in the second Persian war, although the number of soldiers was greater, substantially the same proportions prevailed; but that, in the Peloponnesian war, in which the distinctive Athenian civilization practically succumbed, the proportions were even greater. During the wars against Hannibal, thirty per cent of the male citizen-population of Rome capable of bearing arms, or more than ten per cent of the total population, were kept under arms, while the total number lost exceeded those proportions of the population as it stood when the struggle began.

CHARLES KNAPP

VERGIL'S TRAGEDY OF MAIDENHOOD

The earliest affinities of the Camilla idyll, the embellishing incident of Aeneid 11, are to be found in Homeric legends of Amazons, and Penthesilea in particular, but the theme was too slight for the Attic stage, offensive to the social principles of aristocratic Greek society, and very naturally awaited the more romantic and bourgeois Alexandrian age to be developed into a literary genre. It happens that the particular phase of romanticism of which the erotic idyll was a characteristic expression arrived at Rome in the middle of the last century of the Republic, and was at its peak in that decade which witnessed the arrival of our young Vergil in Rome. Previously, during the years of his preliminary education at Mantua and Cremona, he had become familiar with the stock characters of classical romance, such as Alcestis, Medea, Procris, and Eurydice, all of which appear in the poem of his adolescence, the *Culex* (249-296)¹, the first indication of an unbroken vein of literary interest which culminates in the Dido tragedy of the Aeneid and the Orpheus elegy of the last Georgic, both of them executed during his last years, when his style was fixed and his judgment and his taste established.

The Camilla type of maiden asceticism appears in his writings as early as the year 45 B. C., when we may be reasonably sure that he was engaged upon the *Ciris*². In this orthodox epyllion, or little epic, an important character is Carme, the aged nurse of the princess Scylla. This woman, of Cretan and Phoenician stock, as victims of erotic tragedies conventionally must be, had formerly possessed a beautiful daughter Britomartis, who devoted herself to the goddess Diana and perpetual virginity. Many suitors had sought her hand in marriage, but she refused them all, and along with her hounds and her companions of the chase found happiness in the mountains and the forests. At length, however, she came to the knowledge of Minos, the famous prince of Crete, who pursued her so obstinately

that in despair she threw herself from a cliff to her death. So firmly did this particular conception seize upon the mind of Vergil that we find it furnishing a fascinating detail of the Dido story, where the queen, contending with her fate, imagines herself in her dreams to be pursued by a merciless lover (Aeneid 4.465-466):
agit ipse furem in somnis ferus Aeneas. It was the immunity of maiden asceticism, of the woman of the wilds, *fera*, for which Dido had yearned in the depths of her misery (Aeneid 4.550-551)³:

Non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
degere more ferae talis nec tangere curas.

By the time that Vergil came to treat of Camilla herself not only were all years of youthful haste and eagerness left far behind him, but, what is more significant, the domination of models and masters had been outgrown. His first description of the heroine is a very gem, a cameo, executed in his own manner, a chaste and self-restrained classicism (Aen. 7.803-817). The picture stands out as if done in hard material, like the white of the agate against the dark. Yet language as a medium of art, if now and then it may be made to imitate the fineness of precious stone, is far more varicolored, and these fifteen lines of Vergil are bright with the sheen of purple and gold and bronze, as they are instinct with living grace and motionless movement. The daring conceit of the fleet-footed maiden speeding across uninjured grain and skimming alone the main oversteps the bounds of credulity, but how exquisite the art that makes the impossible acceptable, that not only condones the fancy, but commends it as really charming! As Vergil succeeded in lifting the Dido story out of the commonplace erotic class to the dignity of high tragedy, so he exalts the Camilla story out of a mediocre literary genre into the realm of pure fancy and romance, the concern of the gods themselves.

Camilla's story occupies the pediment, so to speak, of Book 11. The narrative of her childhood comes from the lips of Diana herself, and the details are chosen with parsimonious felicity. There are both the expected and the unexpected element, novelty and harmony. The atmosphere is distinctly Italic, for who can fail to recognize in Metabus, father of Camilla, an ancient type of the haughty Italian brigand, not extinct in our own day? We in America may feel our imagination assisted by recollection of stories of the frontiersmen and the fearless women of the West in the days of the pioneers, born to danger and to the saddle, but even our best examples in history or in fiction fall short in respect of the haughtiness, what the Italians call *fierazza* (Latin *feritas*), of the freebooter of the Italian mountains. A novel detail is the incident of the swollen torrent, and the babe, bound to the huntsman's spear, flung across it to the farther bank. Was there ever a more unique ritual of consecration? How important also in an artistic way is the child's motherlessness! What a unique testimony to her beauty and prowess is the brief intimation that her fame went far and wide through Etruscan towns and that many a mother sought her for a daughter-in-law!

³See American Journal of Philology 45, 176-178.

¹It seems only fair to warn the reader that many good scholars still refuse to believe that Vergil wrote the extant poems entitled *Culex*, *Ciris*, etc., that is, the poems of the Appendix Vergiliana, so-called. Hence, theories about Vergil's life and works which depend in large part on these "minor poems" are not to be accepted instantly, without reservation.
C. K.
²See N. W. De Witt, Vergil's Biographia Litteraria, 36 (Oxford University Press, 1923).

Camilla was not slain in a fair fight. Such a death would have been commonplace. Her death was murder, for Arruns belonged to the Hirpini of Mt. Soracte, and this whole region had sent its contingent to the aid of Turnus under the leadership of Messapus. Arruns was a traitor. His motive was jealousy. As the nobles of Rome had regarded the attainment of the consulship by Cicero as a pollution of that office (Sallust, *Catiline* 23), so this wretch considered the prowess of Camilla to be a stain upon the glory of the allies (Aen. 11.789). This is a foul motive, but, the meaner the culprit, the greater is the sympathy for the slain. This turn of the story is a telling invention. Had Camilla fallen in battle, the story of Penthesilea would have been duplicated. Had she come to her death by accident, the calamity of Eurydice would have been recalled. Had she conceived an impossible passion for Turnus and died by her own hand, she would have been a second Dido. But Camilla is no Penthesilea, no Eurydice, no Dido. She is unique. Her story is romantic because love does not enter in, an exquisite paradox.

With his usual attention to details of composition and invention Vergil has carefully but unobtrusively characterized Camilla. Passing over the accounts of her prowess in general, mere epic-filling, background for outstanding incidents, one notes that three of her foes are described at length. The first of these is the giant Ornytus, who, disdaining armor, which he never wore, came to the war clad only in a bull's hide and wolf's skin, and armed with a hunting-spear. As the stone and sling of David seemed to Goliath an insult, so these weapons of Ornytus outraged the pride of Camilla, and, putting to flight his escort, she ran him through with her spear, exulting over his prostrate form as if to say 'You, who despised men, have been slain by a woman' (677-689). The second characterizing incident is the death of the son of Aunus, a treacherous Ligurian (699-724). He had challenged her to a contest on foot and had then taken flight on his horse, but Camilla overtook him, and, seizing his horse's bridle, brought him down. The literary motive of this incident is to make good the description of her swiftness. Otherwise she might have killed him with an arrow. The pursuit of Chloereus is the third of the characterizing incidents (768-783). This priest of Cybele was clad in costly and richly colored garments, which attracted her woman's eye, and in quest of them she exposed herself to the shaft of the assassin. Such was Camilla, proud and fearless, fleet as the wind, yet coveting pretty things.

The Camilla episode is marked by two details of invention too curious and charming to be passed by. The fleet-footed maiden overtaking and slaying the fleeing Ligurian is compared to the hawk that swoops down with swift ease upon the helpless dove, a figure of speech that is trite enough, but the simile before us exhibits a singular inversion of application, since the woman is the hawk and the man is the dove (721-724). Another Vergilian refinement, full of grim humor, is to be found in the description of the retreating Arruns, who

steals away like a guilty wolf, his tail pressed to his body. This comparison is both apt and innocent, but the real point of it is this, that the culprit belonged to the brotherhood of the Hirpini; *Hirpini* was a Sabine word signifying 'wolves'. Thus Arruns was a genuine *Hirpinus* (809-815). These details not only inform us that the Camilla story was carefully worked over by Vergil, but also remind us of those second depths in his art, of which we cannot speak too often. As the Roman nobles at their banquets diverted themselves and their guests by concealing dainties within dainties, so our poet finds amusement in concealing pretty baits of fancy, which only the initiated will garner.

As Vergil at the very outset lifted the Camilla story into the region of fairy land by the art of the literary miniaturist, so at the end he brings it down to a tender human level in a most natural way. Camilla might just as easily have been saved by the goddess instead of being avenged. She might have been rescued in a cloud of invisibility, in commonplace Homeric fashion, or carried to the mountains in the form of a fawn, as Iphigenia was in the play of Euripides, but Vergil was not imitating. Camilla remained a daughter of Italy, an *Italica*, though slain, surrounded by her *Italides*, Larina, Tulla, Tarpeia, and Acca, a pretty catalogue. She is not rescued nor yet metamorphosed. She is transported to her native hills. Her pall is a cloud, and the sacred tumulus of a heroine her everlasting resting-place. No human voice pronounces the solemn *Vale, vale, vale*. The last rites are the care of the gods themselves. The tale is so told that the exotic flavor is not lost; nor is the touch of common humanity sacrificed, nor are the rare lights and tones of a romantic atmosphere dissolved in the vulgar sunlight of a common day. The ideal is combined with the real and patriotism with poetry; the coloring of the romantic is added to the simple lines of the classical.

This, of course, is no drama if judged by strict canons. It loses sight, perhaps, of the emotional function of tragedy. One will not turn the page on the story with a more sober judgment of conduct or a clearer intuition of the road to virtue and happiness. There are pity and pathos in it, but the pity that is pathos is not the pity that is a factor of moral conduct. It is a sort of pleasurable sentiment that made its appearance in the Euripidean drama as an auxiliary emotion of legitimate tragedy. It comes near to being art for art's sake, beauty for beauty's sake, shorn of the didactic. The sadness of the heroine's death is enhanced by every device of invention, but there is no ethical intrusion. It is just a story, loosely adhering to the main plot, the indulgence of a certain mournful sentimentality in human nature, yet redeemed by the perfection of the workmanship.

VICTORIA COLLEGE,

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NORMAN W. DEWITT

REVIEWS

The Macedonian Tetralogy of Euripides. Discussed and Edited by Richard Johnson Walker. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne (1920). Pp. 137. 12 sh., 6 d.

In this book the author gives free range to his fancy, and makes guesses, conjectures, and textual emendations without the least hesitation or restraint. It is difficult sometimes to take the book seriously, and yet it is meant to be a serious effort to determine the character and the content of the play or plays that Euripides wrote at the court of Archelaus, King of Macedon. There is here the same freedom of conjecture in literary and historical criticism that was manifested in textual criticism in the author's Euripidean Fragments (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 16.182-183). "My ambition in this volume", says Mr. Walker in the Preface, "is to push forward a little the frontiers, I will not say of knowledge (for knowledge is a matter of certainties), but of well founded opinion (and that is a matter of probabilities)".

His Macedonian Tetralogy is composed of the Alcmena, the Temenus, the Temenides, and the Archelaus, the Archelaus taking the place of a satyr drama in the same way that the Alcestis did. He gives the contents of the four plays as follows:

... The Alcmena presents the death and, so to speak, the assumption, in circumstances marvellously Egyptian, of Hercules' mother. ... In the Temenus, Hercules' descendant Temenus comes by conquest to the kingship of Argos and is seen sitting like a Pharaoh on his throne. In the Temenides, Temenus' son, Archelaus I, flies from civil sedition into Thrace, bearing with him, to save it from sacrilege, the embalmed body of his father; in Thrace he receives from Apollo a command to proceed to Macedonia and there to found a new monarchy. In the Archelaus, Archelaus II, king of Macedon, ... consults the spirits of his twelve royal predecessors, who rising from their sepulchres at Aegae ... advise him as to the welfare of his realm; to them, as they hold converse, Hercules adds himself as companion and *Herculis ritu* brings the gathering of his family to a mirthful and Macedonian conclusion.

The chorus of the Archelaus is composed, Mr. Walker tells us, of the twelve Temenid kings of Macedon, and the prologue is spoken by Hercules, who is also one of the actors. It is to be noted that according to his view the play is not a tragedy, and it deals with Archelaus II, not Archelaus I. The legend preserved by Hyginus about Archelaus and Cisseus, which is commonly thought to have formed the subject-matter of the Archelaus, is in his opinion part of the plot of the Temenides. In each of the four plays our author finds "an Egyptian tendency" and "an Egyptian atmosphere"; in the prologue of the Archelaus he sees "a direct claim, openly preferred on behalf of Archelaus II, that that monarch was of Egyptian lineage", and in a tragic fragment (*Adespota Tragica* 372), which he assigns to Euripides's Archelaus, he discovers "an invitation to Pharaoh, the new luminary in the firmament of mundial politics, to accept Archelaus II of Macedon as an equal". The whole tetralogy, he thinks, was designed for reproduction in Egypt, most-probably at Canopus, and was revised and sent there for that purpose.

Now, nearly all of this is the purest conjecture. To get the result here given in outline, conjecture is built upon conjecture as though upon established fact. The author makes the following admission toward the

close of his discussion: "Conjecture indeed has played a large part in my process. . . . Where knowledge fails, I reconstruct, to the best of my ability, in such a way as not to contradict knowledge that has not failed". He thinks that there is urgent need for such attempts as his, that research has got into a rut, and that the Classics are being killed not by their open enemies, but by their professed friends.

Here are some samples of Mr. Walker's way of reasoning. In order to show that Aeschylus "not improbably" used the name of Croesus in a certain connection, he emends Fragment 401 of Aeschylus by putting the word *Κροίσον* into the text, though it was not there before. "This emendation", he says, "seems in a manner almost to impose itself". Important deductions as to the diction and the plot of the Archelaus are based upon the word *Ἀριδᾶς* in Fragment 231, and yet *Ἀριδᾶς* was not in this fragment until Mr. Walker put it there, his ostensible reason being "to cure the intolerable jingle" of *δίδως γερῶς*. Into Fragment 255 he himself introduces three epic forms by emendation, and then proceeds to use these dialectic forms as evidence of the peculiarity of the diction of the Archelaus. Evidently his emendations have for him the value of the text itself.

In conclusion, one notes with regret Mr. Walker's denunciation of German scholars; especially regrettable, in view of the general character of his own work, is his criticism of their "loose work, which", he says, "now that German domination is, I trust, broken, urgently demands root-and-branch revision by scholars of independent minds".

TRINITY COLLEGE,
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CHARLES W. PEPPLER

Publius Ovidius Naso, *Liebeskunst*, Lateinisch und Deutsch. München: Ernst Heimeran Verlag (1923). Pp. 106 (Text and Translation) + 21 (unnumbered, Notes).

Ovid. *The Lover's Handbook. A Complete <Verse> Translation of the Ars Amatoria.* By F. A. Wright. London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. <undated>. Pp. 305.

There is now being published in Germany a series of texts of Latin authors with German translations, known as the *Tusculum Bücher*, of which the version of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is the fourth volume¹. This handy edition reminds one of the Loeb Classical Library, with the difference that the German editions lack textual notes and Introductions. One may call the German edition of the *Ars Amatoria* a "*Liehaberausgabe*", especially since it contains also eight pen-and-ink sketches.

The translation given us in this volume is that of Hertzberg, revised by Franz Burger-München. The consummate and playful art and mockery of Ovid, *Præceptor Amoris*, are remarkably rendered, in a version that combines rare literalness with much poetic beauty. It is enough to quote two passages.

1.635-640:

¹The first volume contains Horace, *Carmina* (Oden und Epoden); the second and the third contain Tacitus, *Tiberius* (*Annales* 1-6).

Juppiter selbst schwur oft beim Styx meineidig der Juno,
Und sein Beispiel spricht wahrlich doch günstig für uns.

Götter sind nützlich für uns: drum lasst an Götter uns glauben;

Weilrauch opfert und Wein auf dem bemoosten Altar.
Nicht schlafähnliche Ruh', der niemals naht die Sorge,
Fesselt sie. Schuldlos lebt! dann ist die Gottheit euch nah'.

3.121-128:

Lobe das Alte, wer will. Ich preis' es als Glück, dass ich jetzt erst

Lebe; nach Art und Sinn passen wir: ich und die Zeit.
Nicht weil jetzt das geschmeidige Gold aus der Erde gewühlt wird,

Weil man Perlen sich holt von dem entlegensten Strand,

Nicht weil Feld und Gebirg durch Marmorbrüche man abträgt,

Weil man durch Molen des Meers bläuliche Fluten vertreibt:

Nein, weil Bildung herrscht, und der Ahnherrn bürgerliche Sitte

Nicht mehr dauert und nicht unserer Zeit sich vererbt.

As is well known, every book of the *Ars Amatoria* contains a certain number of precepts which Ovid gives to his students. Paul Brandt, in his edition of the *Ars* (Leipzig, 1902), prints the text in such a way that between one precept and the next a space is left, that the reader may be aware that he is approaching a new precept. The translator adheres to this division of Brandt (compare Anhang zum Ersten Buch, note to verse 1), and the translation is printed in the same way. The notes in the "Anhang" to each book are mostly mythological in character. Such notes are indispensable, since Ovid, to strengthen his arguments, draws his examples mostly from the Greek and the Roman mythology.

The punctuation of the text is very careful, more careful even than that of the text of Brandt (who based his on R. Ewald's [Teubner] edition). Compare, for instance, 3.252, 342, 354, 377, 470, 751.

As far as I could observe, there are only slight deviations from Brandt's text. In 3.273 Brandt reads *analeptrides*. Here the translator seems to have preferred to follow Ewald; he reads *analectrides*. In 3.757-758 the translator introduces a reading which differs from that given by Ewald and Brandt, but he adds in a note that the reading is doubtful.

I do not intend to dwell on the merits and the beauty of Mr. Wright's English version, which is one of the volumes of the Broadway Translations, since this has been well done by Mr. Van Doren in his review of the book in The <New York> Nation, Volume 118. I wish merely to make a brief comparison of the two translations in certain particulars. The German translation lacks an Introduction. The English, however, is equipped with a scholarly Introduction, which deals with the following topics: Ovid: The Man and his Poems (1-34); Ovid in English Literature (35-65); The *Ars Amatoria* and Ovid's Exile (66-92). There is also a Bibliography (93-98). One misses, however, in the English translation, the notes which, as was said above, are essential to the understanding of this masterpiece of Ovid.

To sum up, each translation might well be a supplement to the other, the English gives the needed introduction, the German the necessary explanatory notes.

The appearance of those two translations at about the same time seems to indicate a new era for the neglected Ovid. And so Mr. Van Doren was perhaps right in heading his review, "The Return of Ovid".

DRISLER FELLOW IN CLASSICS,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

JACOB HAMMER

Flosculi Latini Tam Filo Quam Colore Praestantes Quos Non Sine Lappis Tribulisque Congessit Arturus Blackburne Poynton. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch (1922). Pp. xii + 212.

This book is similar in purpose to *Flosculi Graeci*, noticed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 17.121. The author states in his Preface (v) that his purpose has been "to help students who desire to have ancient models before them in the task of composition". Some 85 passages in all are given, most of them from Latin prose writers. Nos. 80-83 give samples of modern Latin. The passages are grouped together in eight classes, for which, however, no guiding captions are given. It would take too long to recite the Table of Contents of the book. It must suffice, therefore, to indicate in the briefest way the contents of Sections A, G, and H. A contains selections illustrating Literature and National Character (Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, Horace, Epistles), Genius of Latin Diction (Quintilian), Qualities of Finished Oratorical Style (Cicero, Orator), Cicero's Oratory Criticized (Tacitus, Dialogus). Section G deals with Rome (Juvenal, Martial), Italy (Catullus, Cicero, Horace, Pliny, Epistles), Municipium and Colonia (Cicero, Catullus), Villa (Pliny, Epistles, Statius, Silvae), The Bath (Seneca, Epistles), Theatres (Vitruvius, Pliny, N. H.), Books and Libraries (Catullus, Vitruvius), Recitation (Pliny, Epistles), Spectacula (Cicero, Ad Familiares, Suetonius, Nero), An Advocate's Life (Pliny, Epistles), The Teacher (Quintilian), The Steward (Cato, De Agricultura), Investments (Plautus, Trinummus, Pliny, Epistles). Section H has to do with Britain (Tacitus, Agricola, Bede, Ecclesiastical History), Mediaeval London (William Fitzstephen), Greek in England (Colet to Erasmus, Erasmus, Preface to Lily's Greek Grammar), Classical Revival (Sir Thomas Smith, Letter to Stephen Gardiner), Grandeur of Intellectual Discovery (Bacon, Novum Organum), Conjectural Emendation (Bentley, Preface to Horace), Epilogue (Vergil, Georgics 2.475-489).

CHARLES KNAPP

FIAT IUSTITIA, RUAT CAELUM

Two of my Columbia colleagues, members of non-classical departments, were desirous of knowing the source of the familiar quotation *Fiat iustitia, ruat caelum*. Now, no one can be expected to recall everything he has read, even the line in Vergil, Eclogue 2, which, when recalled, so readily and easily solved the

second of Two Latin Puzzles (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 17.9, 18.97-98).

From the outset I had a feeling that the particular expression with which we are now concerned did not come from Roman times. A search of the Latin Dictionaries, including the great Thesaurus, soon made this belief a certainty. Had the phrase been ancient, it had certainly been cited in the Thesaurus.

Presently, in a little book called Dictionary of Quotations, Latin, by T. B. Harbottle (London, Swan, Sonnenschein and Company, 1909), page 70, I found the following:

Fiat justitia et pereat mundus.

Motto of Ferdinand I. (Emperor of Germany). Johannes Manlius, "Locis Communes", II, Octavum praeceptum).

Let justice be done though the world perish.

Fiat justitia, ruat caelum.

Nathaniel Ward. The Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America. Printed in London A. D. 1647. (P. 14 of Boston Ed., 1843). Lord Mansfield. In "Rex v. Wilkes", Burrows' Reports IV, 2562.

Ferdinand I, mentioned above, is described in the Britannica¹, 10.261, as "Roman emperor". He lived from 1503-1564. He was Emperor from 1558-1564. The Britannica concludes its account of him by saying that he was "just and tolerant, a good Catholic and a conscientious ruler". In a word, his motto and his conduct seem to have been in accord.

In an Italian work on proverbial expressions, called *Chi l'ha Detto?*, by Giuseppe Fumagalli (Milan, Hoepli, 1921), Ferdinand's motto is briefly discussed, with the statement that a more correct form would be *Fiat iustitia ne pereat mundus*. But the other form of the proverb is not given at all in Fumagalli. In Riley, Dictionary of Latin Quotations, etc. (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.97), only *Fiat iustitia, ruat caelum* is given. But no source for the sentiment is indicated.

Nathaniel Ward, mentioned in the quotation from Harbottle, was born in England, perhaps at Haverhill, about 1578. He was preacher and author. He emigrated to Massachusetts in 1634. He lived at Ipswich (Agawam). He was author of a satirical work called The Simple Cobbler of Agawam. He died in 1653.

CHARLES KNAPP

INTELLIGENCE TESTS AGAIN¹

The War Department has made public a report by Dr. Carl C. Brigham, Associate Professor of Psychology at Princeton, suggesting that intelligence tests may eventually be very useful for the rapid and widespread selection of individuals for commissions in the event of a future national emergency. It is a suggestion which, if adopted at all, should be adopted guardedly. If possible, such a test should never be depended upon alone.

A few years ago a good deal of nonsense was heard in regard to the army intelligence tests. The word

¹This matter appeared as an editorial in the New York Sun, Saturday, January 3, 1925. C. K.

"moron" entered into general circulation, and many persons were solemnly convinced that the tests had shown that the average man was far below the average. Another unsound belief widely entertained about these tests, from which even a few psychologists did not seem to be exempt, was that they measured innate ability as distinct from acquired ability. No such measurement has so far been possible, for the very good reason that native and acquired ability are, so to speak, in chemical and not in merely physical combination, and cannot be separated in an adult by any method yet known.

The best intelligence test yet existing is, as always, the test of actual accomplishment. The opinion which men of sense form of the mental ability of their fellows after long acquaintance, from daily conversations, from listening to their casual opinions, from watching them at work and in their moments of relaxation, is apt to be far more accurate and dependable on the whole than the opinion that the cleverest psychologist could form from a most ingenious half hour intelligence test. If such a test were to reverse all previous beliefs in regard to a given man's mental ability, it would probably not be the man who was exposed, but the test itself. . . .

Dr. Brigham, while he makes large claims for the intelligence tests, asserting that they can predict the standing a student will make in military science quite as well as can the student's own grades and general school record, is nevertheless sensible enough to recognize this fact. He makes the highly useful suggestion that all incoming students at West Point be given all available intelligence tests suitable to their age and training; that records of these successive tests be kept over a period of years, and that the West Point standing and later professional ability of the persons tested be checked against the records of the tests. Such a procedure would enable the authorities to eliminate all tests which do not give good evidence as to military ability and retain those which do.

THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The 177th meeting of The Classical Club of Philadelphia was held at the Princeton Club, on Friday, January 9, with 41 members present.

The Club has many loyal adherents who, though they live far from Philadelphia, retain membership in the Club. Especially remarkable among these is a high official of one of the greatest business corporations of America, who resides in Chicago. He is not only interested in the promotion of classical culture, but is himself a classicist of parts, and writes valuable notes, translations, and papers to be read at the meetings of the Club *in absentia*; these are always welcomed by the more strictly professional members as interesting and illuminative.

The meeting of January 9, then, opened with the reading, by the Secretary, of a brief paper by Mr. James Alexander Dowdy, of Chicago, entitled The Sin of Oedipus. The author traced the universal horror of incest back beyond religion and morals to the superstition of prehistoric man, and to his fear of woman as a creature of magic.

The main paper of the evening was read by Professor Dean P. Lockwood, of Haverford College, on The Festival of Laughter. It was based on the trial of

Lucius, as recorded in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, Books 2-3, in connection with the incident of the goat-skins, and was a study of the hazing of strangers and neophytes, including selfimposed hazing in the form of absurd wagers, and 'post mortem' hazing in the form of absurd conditions imposed on heirs by a testator. The treatment of the last point in Roman law was also discussed.

B. W. MITCHELL, *Secretary*

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

VIII

American Review of Reviews—December, The Earliest Portraits of Christ, Henry W. Lanier [an account of The Golden Chalice of Antioch, with some account of Antioch itself. 5 illustrations].

Art and Archaeology—January, Howard Crosby Butler, E. Baldwin Smith [an account of the life and work of the scholar whose excavations on the site of Sardis brought such important results. 18 illustrations]; A Pilgrimage to Petra, James A. Kelso [10 illustrations]; Excavations at Carthage, 1924, Byron Khun de Prorok [6 illustrations]; Review, by Edward Capps, of James M. Paton and Lucy Allen Paton, *Selected Bindings from the Gennadius Library* [for this Library see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.208]; Review, favorable, by Clark D. Lambertson, of Neil C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy*.

The Champion (published by Champion College, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin)—November, Iliadis I, 1-52, Anthony F. Geyser, S. J. [a translation of the first fifty-two lines of the Aeneid into Latin hexameters].

History—October, The Revival of Greek in Western Europe in the Carolingian Age, M. L. W. Laistner.

Historical Outlook—January, Making the Story of Ancient Nations Relate to Present Life, Margaret McLaughlin.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin of the—December, Small Greek Antiquities, Gisela M. A. Richter [6 illustrations]; Loan of Cretan Antiquities, and A Fragment from the Erechtheum, Gisela M. A. Richter; The Egyptian Expedition <of the Metropolitan Museum of Art>, 1923-1924 [the account of this expedition forms Part II of the December issue, 52 pages. Mr. H. E. Winlock gives an account, enriched by 38 illustrations, of the Museum's excavations at Thebes. Mr. Ambrose Lansing describes, with 15 illustrations, the excavations at Lisht. "The Graphic Work of the Expedition" is described, with 8 illustrations, by N. De Garis Davies].

School and Society—November 8, The Classical Investigation, Andrew F. West.—November 29, Immigration and Education, H. C. Nutting.—December 27, Spanish in High Schools, Thomas H. Briggs [the author believes that "... foreign languages already bulk too large" in the High School curriculum, and that "In the inevitable curriculum reorganization, which at the present time shows signs of healthy progress, Spanish will be the first of the foreign languages to suffer from loss of election". "A smaller number should be encouraged and permitted to pursue a foreign language, and they should be so taught as to secure a mastery that pays permanent dividends in effective use". On the basis of Professor Briggs's arguments, a classicist might fairly contend that fewer students should be "encouraged and permitted" to study English! Many students with whom classicists have to deal are even more ignorant of English than students of Latin are of Latin, more ignorant, I mean, if one takes into account the fact that all the students with whom we have to deal have the (supposedly) inestimable advantage of using English, every day, as a living speech. English, too, it would seem "should be so taught as to secure a mastery that pays permanent dividends in effective use"].

Numismatic Chronicle—Volume for 1923, pages 169-210, The Early Diplomacy of Philip II of Macedon Illustrated by his Coins, Allen B. West.

Revue Politique et Littéraire: Revue Bleue—November 1, L'Avenir de la Culture Classique aux États-Unis, Jean Malys.

United States Naval Institute Proceedings—April, A Chapter of Ancient Sea-Power, The Mithradatic Wars, Julius W. Pratt.

CHARLES KNAPP

THE HYPOCAUST AGAIN

I should like to make a brief comment on Professor Yeames's interesting paper, A Modern Hypocaust, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.64.

If I remember rightly, Mr. Jacobi, the explorer and restorer of the Saalburg Camp¹, with whom I had the pleasure of exploring, in 1889, the heating systems of the *thermae* at Pompeii, and, in 1892, those of the Saalburg Camp, was the first to introduce this heating method in modern times. He used it in the mineral springs bath-houses at Homburg, on the Taunus Mountains, not very far, by the way, from the Saalburg Camp.

HUNTER COLLEGE

ERNST RIESS

¹On the Saalburg Camp, and on the Saalburg Collection at Washington University, St. Louis, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 2. 100-102, 147, 9. 102. C. K.